20¢ MAY 29, 1950

New Republic

HAROLD L. ICKES ON: AGNES SMEDLEY

THE PERIL IN THE RUHR

By JEAN PAJUS

A LOOK INSIDE THE PORK BARREL

By ROBERT WALLACE

VIRGINIA WOOLF

By LOUISE BOGAN

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WHAT READERS ARE SAYING

■ Letters of praise and appreciation are reaching the *New Republic's* office in increasing numbers of late. The bias and hysteria of the commercial press, the seriousness of the international crisis and the elections combine to bring liberals into closer bonds of dependence. Reproduced below are several typical letters. If you are not a subscriber, subscribe; if a regular reader, renew; in either case, give the *New Republic* to your friends.

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H. P. M.
Philadelphia

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M. W. M.
London, England

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C. E.
Philadelphia

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A. K.
New York

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H. L. B.
Bronx, N. Y.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IF AMERICA really wants a coalition that can lick Russia, the strongest coalition in history, it can now have it. This is because of three vital developments that resulted from the London pact conference. First, the French proposed the pooling of their coal and steel industries with Germany. Second, the quiet British quietly decided to join European "integration," announcing a mutually acceptable inter-European convertibility and payments scheme. (This is almost as important, though more technical, than No. 1.) Third, pact countries agreed to military specialization in joint self-defense, which constituted a limited but unprecedented yielding of sovereignty. With these three steps a democratic coalition passes from theory into possibility. Now it's up to us. A grand coalition potent enough to prevent a cold war from turning into a shooting war can be made. If America will go down the line with it as leader but not dictator, such a coalition is feasible.

Readers of this column know that we never expected the FEPC bill to pass. All it had behind it was a majority of the voters, a majority of the House, a majority of the Senate, and pledges in the 1948 platforms of both parties. This obviously wasn't enough. Not while a Senate minority of 32 can mock democratic government by making a filibuster-veto successful against any measure. The vote favoring debate limitation last week was 52 to 32, or 12 votes short of the artificial requirement for applying the new closure rule. Civil-rights legislation was really killed on March 11, 1949, when a Senate GOP-Dixiecrat coalition overrode Barkley's ruling to strengthen closure procedure. This may well have been a historic vote. Democrats backed Barkley 25 to 23; Republicans went 16 to 23 against. This led to the present Wherry-sponsored 64-vote requirement, the greatest single barrier to democratic government in America today. There's no way of ending it because that requires the impossible majority of 64 votes, too. The Senate has dug a pit for itself which, as Majority Leader Lucas bitterly comments, "it can't break in 1,000 years." Well, friends, there we are.

The time has come to say a word about Senator Robert A. Taft. Until Senator Joseph R. McCarthy came along, Taft had a reputation for rugged honesty, high principle and respectability. When Taft identified himself with McCarthy, former supporters began asking questions. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* likened him to a well-bred vulture waiting to see if the victim of jackal McCarthy escaped, in which case Taft could fly imperturbably away, while if the jackal won, he could "snatch the carcass from the killer." This growing revulsion has hurt Taft. In a form letter to Ohio newspapers last week he flatly denied he had ever told McCarthy to keep on presenting names of alleged Communists in the State Department "no matter how little evidence he had." He attributed the story to Drew Pearson. The difficulty is that Taft has made similar statements to various responsible Washington newsmen—from the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Baltimore *Sun*—who can support one another's credibility. Taft's change of heart indicates two things: he is worried about his Ohio race; he no longer thinks identification with McCarthy an asset—an important straw in the wind.

It looks as though we were all going to have to learn a good deal more about homosexuality in the days to come, for it's got into politics. It will be particularly hard for this crusty old column, which could never get interested even in the Kinsey Report. But Jumping Joe McCarthy and lip-licking Kenneth S. Wherry, the merry mortician, are bent on pushing an investigation among federal employees as a sort of second ring to the circus performance on Communists. It all came from the revelation

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that the State Department has discharged 91 employees for homosexuality in three years, on the ground that they are subject to blackmail and hence bad security risks. In a department of around 18,000 this works out at about one-half of one percent. Dr. R. H. Felix, director of the National Institute for Mental Health, says the incidence among the white male population is something like four percent, and about the same for women. This proportion holds true all over the United States; it's no different in Washington. This sounds like tough material on which to build political capital.

America's economy is balanced on a knife edge. Present signs point to creeping inflation, stimulated by cold-war production and the refusal of Congress to end deficit financing. Pumping out dollars without imposing counterpart taxes is pump-priming—at a time when the pump doesn't need it. The stock market is moving upward, retail prices have begun to ascend again and wholesale prices are rising. The great thing to remember is that when a nation won't vote adequate taxes, inflation comes along—which is itself a form of taxation. It is the taxation that robs the middle class of the value of savings-bank deposits, robs widows and retired old folk of the value of annuities, robs the provident and thrifty of the value of life-insurance policies. The dollars which you patriotically put into 1941 government bonds—"the safest investment in the world"—are worth 25 percent less today because of inflation-taxation.

Notes. Hotel lobbyist Samuel Haines, representing the "20 Percent Cabaret Tax Committee," testified he will get $85,000 if the present 20-percent tax is cut to 10 percent, $100,000 if cut to five percent. . . . A lobbyist on flat salary is Purcell Smith, for the National Association of Electric Companies; he gets $65,000 a year. A Congressman gets $15,000 salary. . . . The Export-Import Bank's $125 million loan to Argentina's Perón is pledged to pay back private US exporters; the US Government is paying off American businessmen. . . . The defense of Formosa hinges on whether Chiang's men will fight.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Travel in Spain

SIR: The *New Republic* of March 13 is before me, and I take this opportunity to pay my homages to the Old Curmudgeon, and to thank John A. Lester for his letter in this connection. What a rare and "noble page" is Ickes', and how I look to it every week.

But there is another letter—Ramon M. Esteve's—on Spain. Yes, Mr. Esteve, there is something "so awful" in Spain that it breaks the heart, and breaks it forever, once one has been there. If Mr. Esteve should make up *his* mind to "wander to Spain" this summer, I in my turn would be glad to show him around. I would take him to the "Prision Provincial de Madrid" and to "Prision Central de Alcalà-Henares," for I know the way to them well. And in every people's restaurant where we had a meal en route, I would ask the waiter to show Mr. Esteve his identification card, and on it would be shown that the man it served to identify was permitted one of the three Franco liberties: liberty under surveillance, provisional liberty, or else conditional liberty. I would take Mr. Esteve down those uncertain steps in the dugouts which form a belt of destitution around the luxury of Madrid. And if Mr. Esteve should tell me as so many Spanish did, that the "poor have always been poor in Spain, and the rich have always been rich," I would be even more firmly convinced that the time was long past for a change.

I am certain that neither Mr. Ickes, nor any man of conscience, could "enjoy" the Spain which the tourist is so callously invited to come and see.

Frankfurt, Germany KAY BOYLE

Stop the Bombing

SIR: Our policy in China is self-defeating. It should be changed. Our present help to Chiang Kai-shek, which the Formosa faction deems picayune, cannot save China. China is already lost. Yet American help to the Formosa faction is used to bomb Shanghai.

Let us frankly admit that the Chiang Kai-shek government is doomed. That we can no longer tolerate its misuse of our assistance, that all such assistance must at once be stopped, that in the present misery of starving millions of Chinese we will send aid of food and supplies and if necessary a couple of airplane carriers to see that these supplies reach Shanghai safely. Then and thus will the Chinese realize who are their real friends.

To stop the bombing of Shanghai the Communists need and must secure fighting planes. These can only be obtained from Russia, so that instead of "containing" Russia, our help to Chiang and his murderous use of that help are the strongest influence to force the Chinese Communists into the arms of Russia.

We should change our policy radically—cut off further aid to the Formosa faction, request them sternly not to use American planes or bombs or American-trained pilots against the Chinese people, and stop their indiscriminate killing. Send to Formosa our Pacific Squadron and airplane carriers to present this request with impressive and awe-inspiring formality. Make this action so dramatic that the masses of the Chinese will understand it unmistakably.

Secretary Acheson must make his choice. Will he hang onto the coat-tails of Chiang Kai-shek and placate the Judds, the Burrills, the Luces and Colonel McCormick, or will he rise to this supreme test and play boldly for tremendous stakes—the saving of China for friendship with the United States?

Boston, Mass. ROBERT TREAT PAINE

Berlin Youth

SIR: Has proper diplomatic, military and public-interest consideration been given to the possibility that the East German youth, about to be herded into West Berlin on May 28, may themselves be shot and killed in great numbers—possibly hundreds of thousands—by the Russians themselves (whether from in front or behind making not a particle of difference in the resulting story) and the act be blamed loudly, violently and persistently on the West Berlin defenders by the Russians? If not, the East Berlin youth themselves might be put on notice that they face such a possibility.

Los Angeles, Calif. FRED ELDER

Here Comes Smathers

SIR: If anyone thinks there is bigotry in the US Senate now, they should wait until George Smathers takes his seat. Forgetting his voting record, and considering only the recent primary, I predict that Smathers will exhibit some of the worst characteristics of Bilbo, Long, McCarthy, Hickenlooper and their ilk.

After the 80th Congress began to function, I felt the only cure for the restlessness and aimlessness of the American electorate was a radical shock treatment. That is, "go whole hog"—not only increase the Republican reactionary majority in both houses, but also elect Tom Dewey. I firmly believed four years of that kind of administration would bring us to our senses and possibly result in a complete reorganization of both major parties, with all liberals adopting the Democratic label, and all conservatives and reactionaries the Republican. After what happened in Florida, and may well happen in other states, I have returned to that belief.

Incidentally, I have been a registered Republican ever since I was old enough to vote—but a *Lincolnian* Republican. . . .

Pikesville, Md. HAROLD DUANE JACOBS

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RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT

LIKE ANY MAN who is fond of his neighbors, Harry Truman has returned to Washington delighted that the neighbors clear across the country still seem to think pretty well of him too. Unfortunately for the Democrats, it is not Truman who is up for election this year. Their problem between now and November is to translate his personal popularity into votes for the local party candidates.

That will not be easy. To arouse interest in the elections, and to stimulate a large enough vote in November to give the advantage to the Democrats, the President should stump dozens of districts all over the country. Voting in the primaries already held has been at the usual low level for recent off-year elections. The results in 1942 and 1946 are graphic proof of the losses liberals suffer whenever there is a small vote. But when he sets out to stump the country, in order to bring out a large vote and elect Fair Dealers, Truman runs squarely up against the tremendous conservative force of political tradition.

All along the route to the Pacific Northwest, the President promised his trainside listeners that he would be back later this summer to "do some politicking," presumably to tell them whom they should send to Congress. There will not be the same affectionate interest in that mission as greeted Truman on his last trip. The public approved of the President's coming out to report on how he has been handling his own job. But that same public is generally of the opinion that a President should not enter into Congressional campaigns. This feeling prevails in most parts of the United States and among all kinds of voters, regardless of their party affiliations.

A statewide poll taken this month by the Minneapolis *Tribune* showed, for example, that 56 percent of the Minnesotans interviewed believed a President should not help members of Congress in their election campaigns. A majority of those interviewed in cities and towns as well as on farms voted "no." Sixty-nine percent of the Republicans in the state thought the President should stay out of Congressional races. Fifty-eight percent of the independent voters felt likewise; even in the Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party, sentiment was 47 percent against the President's participating in contests for Congress.

The President cannot allow this attitude to prevent him from taking an active part in every election where the Fair Deal is at issue this year. But he must find a way to convince American voters that he is acting in the public interest in so doing. Those who have thought objectively about the question of party responsibility will be on his side.

As the result of two years of study, the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association is about to bring out a report which will recommend that national party leaders enter fully into the selection of candidates for national office through the primaries and into the campaigns those candidates wage in the general elections. All candidates running on the party ticket should be required to accept the national party platform as their own, the political scientists will say, and, to ensure this, primaries should not be scheduled to take place before the party platforms for each election have been written. Only in this way can a party in office carry out the promises it makes in its campaign.

It is a hopeful sign that President Truman has declared his target for 1950 to be the "obstructionists" *in both parties*. Not since 1938 have the reactionary Southern Democrats been thus singled out by their party leader. The fact that Franklin D. Roosevelt failed miserably, largely because of poor planning, to purge the New Deal's enemies in the South then is no reason why diplomatic intervention in the few crucial Southern primaries yet to be held could not succeed now. In the 12 years since President Roosevelt made his one attempt to unify the party, the reactionary Republicans and Southerners have steadily consolidated their alliance until today they are able to block any major reform that is proposed. The cost of such party irresponsibility is vastly greater now than it was in 1938, and may soon become more than the nation can bear.

In every state and every Congressional district where an enemy of the Fair Deal program is being challenged by a supporter of the Democratic platform, the responsible head of the Democratic Party should go before the people to tell them who is on their side. This kind of direct leadership by a popular President could provide an excellent start toward responsible party government in America.

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THE WEEK

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEET

The Western world is more than ever girding itself for a possible war with Russia. That is the single inescapable fact which emerges from the meeting in London of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Three powers and of the North Atlantic Council. Every decision taken looked in the direction of greater military security. There was plenty of brave talk about having guns and butter, too; but it is perfectly clear that some choice will have to be made, and that it will be in favor of guns.

The outstanding decisions of the past ten days are four:

1. A permanent Strategy Board, headed by an American, will be set up to act as a continuing group of deputies of the Foreign Ministers of the 12 nations in the North Atlantic Council. It will coördinate and integrate the military forces of the countries involved.

2. Great Britain, under heavy pressure from the United States, is at last beginning to move toward integrating her economy with that of Europe. She will join the European Payments Union, under some special safeguard.

3. Great Britain seems to be yielding some of her opposition to the dramatic French proposal for making a single economic unit out of European steel and coal resources, beginning with those of France and Germany (a plan discussed at length by Jean Pajus in this issue of the *NR*). With France, Germany and the United States already fully committed, the plan begins to look as though it had a real chance of going through.

4. As an augury of the new role the Big Three will henceforth play in Germany, the control of that country by the Allied High Commission will be substantially relaxed, beginning at once.

Of all the Western powers, the United States is playing the most difficult and complicated role. As Percy Winner has so often reported in our pages, Western Europe is still clinging to the idea that it can somehow be neutral in the coming conflict between the United States and Russia. Such neutrality no longer seems possible; Europe will need to make many and heavy sacrifices, and the temptation will be strong to blame everything on the United States. With our Department of State under deadly cross-fire from Congress, and with blind and fatuous isolationism arising again, this government's task will be almost insuperably difficult. Yet there is no other choice—if we assume that the cold war is inevitable and that peaceful settlement with Russia is impossible at this time.

FOOTBALL OF THE SENATE

The failure of the Senate to invoke closure in order to establish a federal FEPC puts civil-rights legislation in the forefront of another national election campaign. The new rule for shutting off debate in the Senate, pushed through the first session of this Congress over the opposition of the Administration, made it possible for the enemies of FEPC to block the bill this year without even resorting to the filibuster.

The maneuvering that went on while FEPC was the official business of the Senate laid both parties open to charges of politicking. The Democrats lost the advantage by repeatedly postponing consideration of FEPC until nerves were frayed and enthusiasm was drained. The possibilities of a compromise that might have attracted enough doubtful votes for approval were never fully explored.

The Republicans were plainly more eager to get out from under charges that the Wherry closure rule of 1949 was the real barrier to FEPC passage than they were to enact the law itself. Enough Republican votes were mustered to allow Minority Leader Kenneth S. Wherry to point out that "78.5 percent of the Republican membership of the Senate voted for closure, and only 36.5 percent of the Democrats voted for closure." On Majority Leader Scott Lucas' motion to take up FEPC, those favoring shutting off debate were 12 fewer than the 64 required for adoption. Twelve members of the Senate were absent. Voting for closure were 33 of the 42 Republican members and 19 of the 54 Democratic members. Six Republicans and 26 Democrats voted against taking up the bill.

Speaking for the Administration, following the vote, Senator Lucas pinned the blame on Senator Wherry and "the rule which he, as sponsor, fastened upon the Senate last year. . . . The Senator from Nebraska . . . was one of the leaders of the . . . Republicans who overruled the decision made by the Vice President of the United States. . . . The country and the Senate will remember who was responsible. . . ."

Groups which worked for passage of the FEPC bill did not accept Senator Lucas' explanation in toto. In a joint statement made after the closure motion was rejected, the National Council for a Permanent FEPC and the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, speaking for 60 organizations, declared:

"For too long the Dixiecrats alone have been blamed for strangling civil-rights legislation in the Senate. Today's vote shows that both major parties are playing hide-and-seek with FEPC. Both Republican and non-Southern Democratic Senators who voted last year for the new 64-vote closure rule voted against closure today or were absent."

PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY

Governor James H. Duff's strong showing in winning the Republican nomination for the Senate will make it infinitely more difficult for Pennsylvania's Democratic Senator Francis H. Myers to retain his seat. Duff carried his entire slate to victory. The Grundy-machine candidate for the Senatorial nomination, Representative John C. Kunkel, lost to Duff by more than two to one. It will be far harder for Myers to beat Duff than it would have been to win over Kunkel.

Superior Court Judge John S. Fine, a much weaker member of the Duff team, won the nomination for Governor over Philadelphia banker Jay Cooke by a very much smaller majority, however.

Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia's

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liberal city treasurer, who upset the GOP machine last year, will be Fine's gubernatorial opponent. The primary returns have greatly enhanced his chances in November.

Republicans registered in Pennsylvania this year exceed registered Democrats by almost 950,000. This fact, plus the general clamor for economy and low taxes stimulated by the ferocious Republican primary fighting, is tempting both Senator Myers and Dilworth to plan conservative campaigns for the fall. In answering a letter of inquiry from the president of the Pennsylvania Real Estate Association regarding their positions on various Fair Deal measures, Myers replied that he has "always bitterly opposed" the Administration's health-insurance plan, and Dilworth declared himself against "socialized medicine." Democratic National Headquarters will have to remind these candidates that party strategy this year requires all Democrats to stay on the offensive and avoid the big mistake of 1946.

A CONDITION OF EMPLOYMENT

In response to violent protests, the University of California Board of Regents has rescinded its ultimatum that professors must sign a special non-Communist oath before April 30 or resign. The Board has imposed a "compromise" condition of employment, however, which the faculty feels is as much an infringement of academic freedom as the non-Communist oath. Faculty members who resisted the original oath must now sign a contract before June 30 which contains the following words:

> Having taken the constitutional oath of office . . . I hereby formally acknowledge my acceptance of the position and salary named, and also state that I am not a member of the Communist Party or any other organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force or violence, and that I have no commitments in conflict with my responsibilities with respect to impartial scholarship and free pursuit of truth. I understand that the foregoing statement is a condition of my employment and a consideration of payment of my salary.

The Regents have provided that nonsigners may request a hearing before the Academic Senate's Committee on Privilege and Tenure. Approximately 200 faculty members had not signed the oath at the latest count. Another 80 instructors and lecturers have signed a pledge not to sign the oath. The petitions of these nonsigners for hearings must be in the hands of the Regents by June 15.

Opinion on this controversy differs widely in the University community. One faction agrees with Regent L. M. Giannini, president of Bank of America, who tendered his resignation because the Regents' "compromise" wasn't sufficiently anti-Communist. The extreme opposite view is that merely attending a hearing to determine loyalty means acquiescence in the principle of political tests—a concept wholly foreign to the American idea of political freedom. A considerable group of faculty members who refused to sign the oath have agreed to sign the contract. They feel that this battle is lost and are waiting for the second round.

The result of the controversy at the University of California, one of the world's largest universities, will be deeply felt by other schools which are facing a similar problem. Last week the Louisiana legislature began consideration of a bill requiring all students and employees of state-supported colleges and universities to take a loyalty oath before their registration or employment. The oath bars any person who orally or by publication advocates the overthrow of the government, who "organizes . . . becomes a member of or is affiliated with any . . . assembly of persons who teach, advocate or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government by force, through violence or any other unlawful means, or the adherence to the government of any foreign nation in the event of war between the United States and such foreign government."

MANGLING SOCIAL SECURITY

The insurance companies have finally seen the fruit of their united labors in the social-security-extension bill reported out of the Senate Finance Committee last week. For months, the companies have campaigned to eliminate several provisions of the House bill which they feel would compete with private insurance. Senators have been visited by insurance representatives from all over the country and the committee hearings contain pages of testimony by life-insurance spokesmen opposing the provisions which broaden social-security coverage and raise the wage base of those eligible for benefits.

The insurance lobby has been clever in its attack on the Administration's measure. When Judd C. Benson, speaking for the National Association of Life Underwriters, appeared before the committee, he said, "We endorse amendments which will make the Act understandable, *easily integrated with private insurance plans*, as well as practical, to the end that it will accomplish the objectives which Congress originally intended" (italics ours). But he then presented these four major objections to the House bill (HR 6000) which was before the Senate committee:

1. Any increase in the wage base above $3,000 "serves only to increase benefits for better-paid workers and is entirely unnecessary to establish a basic minimum level of benefits." The committee promptly fixed the wage base at $3,000. The new formula for primary benefits is 50 percent of the first $100 of average monthly wage plus 15 percent of the next $150.

2. The inclusion of any lump-sum death benefit "is contrary to the concepts of the Act and wholly unnecessary." Benson argued that the 80 million citizens now covered by private insurance include "a great majority of the 60 million persons who comprise the working population and the 45 to 50 million now covered, or likely to be covered, under the proposed amendments in HR 6000." The committee also eliminated the death benefit.

3. Any provision for total and permanent disability benefits "introduces a completely new concept into the Act which we believe is fundamentally unsound. . . ." Labor unions have strongly urged passage of this provision. The committee, however, agreed with Benson and rejected all assistance for the permanently and totally disabled.

4. The inclusion of any increment factor in determining the benefit for retired workers or surviving dependents is "entirely unnecessary and inappropriate." This provision, based on the theory that each worker should receive benefits directly related to his total contributions, was eliminated.

As passed by the House, the measure

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would increase the federal share in the matching formula for public-assistance programs by an estimated $275 million annually. The Senate committee's action would reduce this to $45 million. The committee did increase the child-welfare authorization and extended coverage to regularly employed agricultural workers, including sharecroppers. The provisions of the House bill for workers in non-profit organizations were changed to provide compulsory coverage on both employer and employee for non-religious agencies, but provide coverage on a voluntary basis for workers in religious agencies (at the option of the denomination). Public employees covered by existing retirement systems are excluded under the Senate committee's measure. All commission workers other than insurance salesmen and agent-drivers are considered self-employed, rather than employees, as in the House bill.

The insurance lobby has worked closely with the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce. The social-security views of these three business groups have been in complete accord. Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) is said to have been greatly influenced by the warning of Reinhard A. Hohaus, Actuary, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, that "in social security there is no turning back. . . ." As minority leader of the Senate, Taft was able to exert noticeable influence on the Finance Committee members.

Majority Leader Scott Lucas (Ill.) and Majority Whip Francis Myers (Pa.), both members of the Finance Committee, have promised to "support the principle of permanent and total disability benefits and will seek to raise the wage base above the $3,000 limit" when the bill is brought to the floor.

MRS. KNAUFF'S REPRIEVE

The Department of Justice's attempt to deport a German-born war bride of an American Army veteran has again been blocked. Mrs. Ellen Knauff arrived in this country in 1948 to seek naturalization under the War Brides Act. For two years since, most of which she spent on Ellis Island, she has been the subject of great controversy in the Justice Department, the Supreme Court and Congress.

Mrs. Knauff, who fled Germany and later Czechoslovakia when Hitler moved in, worked for three years in the Women's Auxiliary of the British Royal Air Force. Discharged in 1946, Mrs. Knauff returned to Germany as an employee of the US Government. She met her American husband, Kurt, while both were working for the US civilian administration there. In moving to deport her after her entrance into the United States the Justice Department called her "a hazard to internal security" but refused to disclose specific charges, and denied her a hearing.

Early this year the Supreme Court ruled, four to three, that Mrs. Knauff could be arbitrarily deported, upholding the argument that a hearing would necessarily involve confidential information, disclosure of which would endanger public security. Immediately following the Court's decision, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* started a campaign through editorials, cartoons and news stories to bring the facts to light. Congressional hearings followed, and the House unanimously passed a bill allowing her to remain in this country.

Last week the United States Circuit Court of Appeals sustained the lower-court decision to deport Mrs. Knauff, denying her motion for a delay pending the outcome of legislation now before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The Justice Department wasted no time issuing another deportation order. At the last minute, as she was boarding a plane for Frankfurt, Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson intervened and granted her a stay, which permits Mrs. Knauff's counsel to file by May 25 a petition for a writ of certiorari with the Court, requesting a review of the lower court's decision.

THE WASHINGTON POST

"I know leopards—I used to be a leopard myself."

A NEW STUDY NEEDED

The firemen's recent six-day strike, the walkout of the AFL Switchmen's Union now threatened, and the possibility of similar action by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Conductors in July, suggest something basically wrong with the railroads.

The National Railway Labor Act of 1926 has almost ceased to work. Emergency board-of-appeals machinery, established under the Act as a last resort, is being abused by the unions and the companies. Both parties are subverting the Act by seeking emergency action on all cases and refusing to bargain in good faith.

Management's answer is the Donnell bill for compulsory arbitration of railway disputes. The Senate Labor Committee is being pressured to rush it through immediately. The unions contend that the railroads are so recalcitrant that only economic force is effective.

It seems that the time has come for a careful review of the present peace machinery in this industry. Perhaps the Railway Labor Act is outmoded. The present Act grew out of the recommendations of a special Presidential board appointed to find the causes of the serious rail strikes of the mid-twenties. A similar survey is needed today. No such drastic legislation covering railroad workers as the proposed Donnell bill should be considered until such a study has been made.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The wrong way for America to approach the problems of the worldwide fight for democracy is to accept the generalities of over-all aims as an adequate guide to particular operational possibilities. "The free world" is as fine a phrase as "one world" was. But freedom, like oneness, is an idealistic goal, not a practical reality, in Western Europe.

Even "Western Europe" itself—as an entity—is a goal rather than a reality. The wrong way for America to help the Europeans fight Communism is to assume that all the countries from the Arctic and Atlantic to the Adriatic and Aegean are equally parts of "the free world" and have equal chances of becoming parts. They aren't and they haven't.

The faith in freedom among the peoples of Western Europe varies in fairly direct relation to the facts of freedom, not only in the present but also in the political traditions of the past and in the foreseeable future intentions of men in power or likely to get power. The faith is great only in the United Kingdom and in the Scandinavian countries. Most Frenchmen, Swiss, Belgians, Hollanders don't need preachments by Secretary Acheson on the values of freedom; but there are other Frenchmen, Swiss, Belgians, Hollanders who have an aggressive faith in the Communism which Acheson—quite properly, from the American point of view—considers the path to slavery; and there are still others whose nostalgia for Fascism burns brightly. In countries like Italy, Western Germany and Austria, the faith in freedom can't become dependable until the facts have been proved by good works. And in Portugal, Greece and Spain, paths to freedom need to be opened before they can be followed.

The right way to fight Communism in Western Europe is to recognize that there are different rights and wrongs of particular national tactics within the general continental strategy of the cold war; and that none which might be appropriate in the US would work well in Western Europe. If there is any area of combat in which a generality is relevant, it is in what Acheson calls "propaganda warfare." Here, two questions arise. The American government must decide whether there is too little or too much propaganda coming from the United States. The President's "truth-offensive" speech suggests an assumption that more is needed. Yet the decision was apparently made after some of the highest American officials in Europe, notably in the embassy in Paris, warned that too much has already arrived; and that any increase, while perhaps right in terms of domestic American politics, would be grievously wrong in terms of European psychology.

The second question is whether Acheson's "freedom offensive" is an effective answer to the Communists' "peace offensive." Americans in Western Europe think not. They think American policy must provide better propaganda ammunition to prove that the American government is working to preserve peace as well as freedom.

Contradictions between American words and deeds need to be clarified if the politically advanced citizens of countries like France are to be fully mobilized on the American side. Acheson says: "We do not propose to subvert the Soviet Union." Frenchmen can't understand why not. And they also learn from the bulletins of the United States Information Service that other officials of the State Department agree with them, not with the Secretary. Foy D. Kohler, chief of the International Broadcasting Division of the State Department, described in a recent speech how American "propaganda warfare" was using an underground "grapevine system which exists in Russia" to "reach a good hard core of Soviet listeners" in order to "keep alive the fine qualities and memories of the Russian people"—presumably memories of Czarist days.

As for subversion within Western Europe, French liberals would like to know whether or not it is American policy to fight Communist subversion by supporting men like Charles de-Gaulle and Paul Reynaud. The authoritative English weekly, the *Economist*, says these two men are the only ones in France who stand for unity. Does the State Department agree? The time has come to speak clearly and to act boldly. Does the Department agree with de-Gaulle's spokesman, Count Gaston Palewski, that "we are already in the midst of a war"? If so, the fact should be stated. The Communist door-bell ringers who are systematically visiting every apartment in Paris, asking for signatures to a "peace petition," say it is so, and no *fact* of American policy in France adequately offers a denial.

Acheson said he favored "a sensible system of trade," but, thanks to the A and B lists of the US Department of Commerce, the French have been forced to keep their world trade going by an elaborate system of undercover illegality. And, despite American policy, French exports to the Soviet satellites rose from 6.7 billion francs in 1948 to 18.4 billion in 1949, while exports to the US in 1949 were only 15.7 billion.

Does the State Department agree with the Manchester *Guardian* that "Christian Democracy is now the third force in Italy, backed by the Italian police, and the Italian Army and the Church"? Something can be said for the opinion. Very much can be said against it. It is of great importance that the US Government make up its mind whether the extremely limited amount of progress and reform for which the present Italian government stands is enough to make Italy an area of military strength.

The simple fact is that, in operational strategy on the scene, it may turn out that America needs to support right-wing reactionaries (if not totalitarians) in order to deal with specific European versions of a left-wing totalitarian threat. It may be that war aims will have to be subordinated to war methods, that progress and reform will have, in large measure, to be sacrificed. If this is at all possible (and Americans on the scene think it may be), the truth had better be told to American liberals in order to explain why so many Western European liberals travel roads increasingly close to the Communist, or at least say a plague on both roads—Soviet *and* American.

PERCY WINNER

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A LOOK INSIDE THE PORK BARREL

by Robert Wallace

ON BUZZARDS BAY in Massachusetts lies the resort of Mattapoisett. The 1,994 townspeople cater to the well-to-do summer visitors from Boston. Backed up by wealthy Bostonians who want better facilities for their pleasure craft, the local citizens have asked the federal government to spend $33,000 to improve their harbor.

This is only one of many similar projects recently okayed by Congress when it passed the rivers, harbors and flood-control bill. By itself, $33,000 is peanuts, but when all the ponds, puddles and pork projects in this one measure are added up, they total $1.5 billion.

The perennial rivers and harbors bill, tagged "the pork barrel" because it enables so many Congressmen to "bring home the bacon," is loaded with local pet projects non-essential to the national welfare.

Most of the vociferous advocates of economy, in Congress and out, always manage to overlook this bill. Is it true that many of the projects are unnecessary and wasteful? If so, why is it spared the pruning knife of economy?

Last spring, when the appropriations bill for such projects was before the Senate, Paul H. Douglas (D, Ill.) moved to send it back to committee for a 40-percent trimming. He asserted that $300 million worth of fat could be fried out of the measure, but other Senators demanded that he show where any pork existed. Douglas pointed out a few projects which he suspected of being useless and asserted that the committee could find others. The Senate, however, took a dim view of this. The 40-percent cut was overwhelmingly defeated.

Finding the pork in the barrel is no easy task. It involves plowing through thousands of pages of hearings and reports. But when the rivers and harbors bill was put before the Senate this year, Douglas was ready. He came up with 64 projects totaling $830 million and was prepared to prove each one non-essential or a waste of money. He offered amendments to exclude them all from the bill.

One of the first amendments called for the elimination of a small-boat-harbor improvement close to the US Naval Academy at Annapolis. Not only was the project almost wholly for pleasure boats, but there was already a harbor with anchorage facilities available only a mile and a half away and another two and a half miles away. Furthermore, the Bureau of the Budget had declared the project not in accord with the President's program. But the amendment to omit it was shouted down.

After moving vainly to eliminate a smaller recreational harbor at Fly Creek, Alabama, Douglas next attacked a dredging project on the St. Marys River between Georgia and Florida. The item in question called for an expenditure of nearly a million dollars with yearly federal upkeep costs of more than $18,000. Yet all the listed benefits of this project would go to two private companies—90 percent to the St. Marys Kraft Corporation, a paper mill, and the rest to the Union Bag and Paper Corporation. The project amounted to federal spending to help two private concerns make greater profits. Of course it was not in accord with the President's program, but, as in the case of the others, Douglas' amendment to eliminate it was defeated.

The Illinois Senator moved on with his other amendments to strike out the pork features in the bill:

¶ A $45,000 harbor for recreational boats at Sandy Hook Bay, New Jersey, contrary to Truman's program and in an area where there were already six projects.

¶ A $60,000 development at Governor's Run, Maryland, to benefit summer yachtsmen and a few fishermen, for whom it would obviate the need of awaiting a favorable tide.

¶ A $1,356,000 dredging project on the Detroit River for the benefit of the Detroit Edison Company.

¶ A $228,000 project at Fire Island Inlet, New York, to improve fishing in this summer-resort area by federal subsidy of about $1.50 per ton on all water shipments.

¶ An economically unjustified $114,000 expenditure at Grand Marais Harbor, Minnesota, almost purely in the interest of recreational boating and fishing.

¶ A levee in Florida which would ultimately cost $171 million and would fabulously increase land values, with minor local contributions.

¶ A $36 million project on the Grand River in Oklahoma, contrary to the President's program because the work could not be justified in terms of its cost.

Every one of these amendments was shouted down in a loud chorus of "noes," with one, two or three lonely "ayes." Perhaps it was because most Senators felt that the individual sums were inconsequential in terms of the total budget. At any rate, Douglas began to lump several projects together in single motions and amendments to indicate the large total amounts involved. All these projects were either contrary to the President's program, not

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economically justified, almost wholly for recreational purposes, an unnecessary convenience for fishermen, an aid to private concerns and local interests in making greater profits with small contributions to costs, or just simply not needed. Most of them involved a combination of these factors. Like the amendments to eliminate individual projects, these omnibus measures to strike out groups of projects failed.

Up to that point these projects were mere fatback or, at most, just baloney. They were the authorizations ranging from $7,000 to $37 million. Their total ultimate costs would reach $310 million. They were located pretty much all over the country. Two of them were in Douglas' own state. When he had finished with the baloney, he began to move against the succulent pieces of tenderloin—the Army Engineer river-basin projects authorizing amounts in the hundreds of millions.

The first of the big ones was the Missouri River Basin. It involved a $250 million authorization for a project which would cost more than a billion dollars in the end. The primary purpose of this authorization was to establish a nine-foot navigation channel from Sioux City, Iowa, to the Missouri's mouth above St. Louis.

The development of the basin has caused bitter disputes among various governmental agencies. The Army Engineers plan centered on navigation with some flood control. The Bureau of Reclamation felt that irrigation should be served first. The Department of Agriculture had its own plans for holding back the water by means of soil-conservation measures. To settle these disputes and to develop the area in an orderly, integrated way, legislation for a Missouri Valley Authority, along the lines of the TVA, was introduced. The effect of this has been to cause a shotgun marriage of the Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation known as the Pick-Sloan plan, which allocated the lower river-basin development to the Army Engineers while reserving the upper valley to the Bureau of Reclamation. The plan has been very effective in forestalling any MVA legislation.

US Geological Survey figures show that there simply will not be enough water to carry out the Pick-Sloan plan. The $250 million authorization was primarily to provide water for the nine-foot navigation channel, which would not leave the allotted amount for irrigation. If the Department of Agriculture's plan for soil conservation were carried out, the amounts of water would be even less. The Hoover Commission task force has seriously questioned the advisability of further expenditures until all administrative conflicts have been worked out. Both Senators James E. Murray (D, Mont.) and Hubert H. Humphrey (D, Minn.) have announced that they oppose the navigation features of the plan. But Douglas' amendment to kill Pick-Sloan lost, 50 to 16.

Then came a $200 million authorization for the lower Mississippi. In the first place, authorizations of $362 million which have not been used are still in force. Further expenditures would be more useful if applied to the upper tributaries of the Mississippi. Public funds should serve the dual purpose of soil and water conservation and, at the same time, hold back the excessive waters which cause the lower Mississippi to rise so high. Present authorizations were sufficient for any emergency purposes, but future expenditures should be spent more wisely. But the economy amendment in this case got no better treatment than in the others.

The same arguments were used in asking for the elimination of the $100 million item for the Ohio River Basin, with the same result.

The last piece of pork was a $90 million authorization for the Arkansas River development, again primarily for navigation. Both the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Bureau of the Budget found the plan of highly doubtful feasibility. Total costs required to construct the central feature of the Arkansas River plan, a 480-mile navigation channel from Catoose, Oklahoma, to the mouth, will be $650 million. The same sum could provide 10,000 miles of highways serving every community in Oklahoma and Arkansas, or finance a four-lane super-highway clear across the United States. But the move to strike out the Catoose channel lost.

Some of the projects in the rivers, harbors and flood-control bill were well justified. Certainly many life-saving flood-control projects are worth while. But high-sounding phrases like "good benefit cost ratio" (which means that local and private interests will benefit by more than the cost to the federal government) and "flood control" have served to cover up the purely pork features of this bill. Why is it so sanctified? Why did not more Senators, especially the economy-minded ones, vote for the amendments to eliminate unnecessary spending? To answer this we need to see how these projects come about.

Businessmen, politicians or local-interest groups decide they want a river or a harbor built, and demand that their Congressman deliver. The Congressman, anxious to please his constituents, brings these demands to his public-works committee. Then he finds that other Congressmen have similar demands. If he wants his project to go through, he can't oppose the other fellow's. An impregnable coalition is thus formed.

The Douglas amendments would have saved $830 million. This sum is three times the annual cost of subsidizing 810,000 public housing units, nearly three times the annual cost of the proposed federal-aid-to-education bill. It would keep the Hill-Burton hospital-construction program going for more than 10 years and would finance a school-health program for 25 years. The slums it would clear, the public-assistance programs

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it would support, the research on disease it would allow, make $830 million look huge to any advocate of human welfare. But most of it has been authorized for pork and it will go down the drain.

The pork-barrel bill had the backing of 35 Senators who signed the McClellan economy petition last year, demanding that the President reduce expenditures by five to 10 percent. All but three of the 35 are Republicans or Southern Democrats, many of whom have so often combined to scuttle expenditures for Fair Deal programs. It will have the backing of some who feel that less than $20 million a year is too much to spend on rent control, and others who loudly proclaim that expenditures for the general welfare are leading us to Socialism.

Economy seems to be a fine thing for many Senators so long as it is not practised on their own pet projects or favorite programs.

THE PERIL IN THE RUHR

by Jean Pajus

THE DRAMATIC PROPOSAL of French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman to pool the coal and steel interests of France and Germany, in the interests of peace and recovery, is in fact a move to establish a Franco-German combine which, in the long run, will mostly benefit Germany. Under the Schuman plan the German, French and Rhine-basin coal and steel interests would fix markets, production, prices, abolish customs duties and equalize wages and social-security benefits.

In defense of the plan it can be said that if it banished France's fear of German aggression it would be a contribution to the peace of Western Europe. It would enable the French to obtain coal on equal terms with the Germans. And it would equalize the social-security benefits of French and German workers.

In practice, the Schuman plan would mean the revival of the prewar international-cartel system under government aegis.

The French plan is not an answer to security from German aggression. It is not the kind of economic "integration" repeatedly demanded by ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman and the United States. It would not mean the internationalization of the Rhine. The real victors in Europe, if the French plan is adopted, will be the steel and coal barons of the Ruhr. The political gain of Germany's change in status would be more than offset by the elimination of all present safeguards against the rebuilding of the Ruhr potential, which the plan would put under the control of those interests which stood behind the Kaiser and Hitler.

Although Schuman's plan came as a surprise, negotiations looking toward it have been going on for more than a year. Early in November, 1949, Chancellor Adenauer, the widely heralded champion of free enterprise, sent a message to his neighbors urging them to establish an international steel cartel embracing the Ruhr, France, Luxembourg and the Saar.

These negotiations recall grimly the era just after World War I. France's dead were scarcely buried when Louis Leucheur, the late French Minister of Reconstruction, began bargaining with the Germans to form an international cartel. The reasons that prompted the French to shake hands with the former enemy were given by a prominent French Senator and industrialist, Gaston Japy, who said frankly that an effort must be made to solve the metallurgical crisis by making "an association with our enemies, authors of many murders and so much ruin in our country." Then, as now, the Germans were quite willing; they had already laid plans to circumvent the Treaty of Versailles. These Germans consisted of a small group of industrialists deriving their power from the ownership of coal mines, steel works and chemical plants in the Ruhr. Their purpose was to avoid the economic consequences of defeat and to regain their industrial power in preparation for a second bid for world domination.

The current French-German negotiations would seem to indicate that nothing has changed since those days. Note the coincidence: the Frenchman Japy proposed a French-German cartel agreement in 1923—four years after World War I; Chancellor Adenauer made a similar proposal four years after World War II. Twenty-seven years ago, Europe faced a crisis in the metallurgical industry and needed "consolidation." A few years after World War II Europe is faced with the problem of "economic integration."

After World War I the French complained bitterly that the Germans were in a position, despite the tremendous losses sustained under the Treaty of Versailles, to control the French iron and steel industries by withholding coal. Another complaint was that the Germans were in a position to manipulate the price of French pig iron. However, despite these complaints, there was an interdependence between Lorraine and the Ruhr,

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involving the dominant groups on both sides of the Rhine. Both sides saw eye to eye on labor policy and social legislation, and participated in each other's national armament programs. The industrialists of both countries were members of the same cartels and directors of jointly owned enterprises.

The basic conditions have not changed in the past 30 years. Neither have the leaders of the heavy industries in France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Saar, despite the tremendous damage their countries have suffered. If the present plans materialize, the world will witness the spectacle of the former members of the international cartel joining hands again. The Schwedes and the Maulicks on the one hand, and Schneider-Creusot on the other, will try to "integrate" Europe economically.

The German efforts to seek out their former cartel friends began soon after V-E Day. In May, 1945, the ashes in Düsseldorf were still smoldering, and German industrialists, bewildered, did not know whether they had any friends left. They soon found out. Walter Rohland, a trusted Nazi industrialist who had been appointed in 1943 to head the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, told the story in a letter to a friend in which he described a visit of the US Strategic Bombing Survey immediately after the liberation of Düsseldorf:

"The U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, after 10 days, left feeling very satisfied, and also with the Englishmen Hannan and Temple, everything developed perfectly. In both cases mutual friends in the United States and England respectively formed a good bridge."

Strengthened by this foreign solicitude, the German industrialists began their campaign to renew their former cartel connections. Walter Schwede, the German representative of the Luxembourg International Steel Cartel, tells of it in a letter dated June 9, 1945, addressed to his former boss, Ernst Poensgen, the father of the International Steel Cartel:

"I learned from Rohland, who as you know visited you in Kitzbühl, that you had intended to come to Düsseldorf in order to use the weight of the authoritative position you hold with the international cartels and especially with the English group."

That was the turning point for the German industrialists. Poensgen, of course, came back to power (he died last year). The rest of his friends also came back—Wilhelm Zangen, to head the Mannesmann Trust; Rohland, who has been right-hand man for Albert Speer, Hitler's minister in charge of armaments and production, to the Vereinigte Stahlwerke; Günther Sohl, also of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, and Schwede.

Hugo Stinnes won his fight with the British and has been active behind the scenes. Hermann Reusch has emerged with enhanced prestige from his battles with the labor unions. Günther Henle, of Klockner, is a power in the Board of Trustees and, with Robert von Pferdmenges, has been defending the interests of the cartels in the German Ministry of Economics.

A few must be singled out. In October, 1946, Heinrich Dinkelbach, the financial brains of the biggest German steel combine, was appointed super-manager of the Rhine industry by the British authorities. He was a heavy contributor to the Nazi Party.

Today, Dinkelbach is the head of the 12 German trustees appointed under Law 75 (November 10, 1948) to control the Ruhr industries. Ostensibly this prohibits excessive concentration of economic power. Under it the Ruhr industry is managed by corporations, supervised by German trustees who exercise, with few exceptions, the normal duties of ownership pending a final settlement of the ownership question. Yet a close analysis of this law shows that applying it literally will result in a great concentration of industrial power in the Ruhr in the hands of a single powerful group, the very same forces which backed Hitler in his adventures. Indeed these trustees can create an even greater concentration of industrial power than existed under Hitler.

(A new regulation was made public by the Allied High Commission, May 17, superseding Law 75. While paying lip service to the principle of decartelization, it left the question of the ultimate ownership of Ruhr industries to the West German government.)

German labor has expressed apprehension about the efforts by influential sources to prevent the liquidation of the Ruhr cartels.

Following the promulgation of Law 75, a Combined Steel Control Board was appointed to supervise the activities of Dinkelbach and his group. The Allied members of this control board—Ronald Clark, of the US Steel Corporation; W. Harris Burland, of Britain; and Albert Bureau, of France—are supposed to control the Ruhr industry. Actually, however, they have done little or nothing.

A similar situation obtains in coal. On December 16, 1947, Heinrich Kost was appointed to the position of general manager of the German Coal Board. He had been a prominent member of the Nazi Party years before Hitler came to power in 1933. The vital significance of Kost's position is apparent. By virtue of his position, he can and does control Western Europe's economy, since it depends on an adequate supply of coal. Modern West European blast furnaces need metallurgical coke, which only the Germans can supply.

Overshadowing Dinkelbach and Kost is the figure of Hermann Abs, whose official post is chairman of the Reconstruction Loan Corporation, the purpose of which is to rebuild the economy of Germany. Under the Nazi regime, Abs was the head of the Foreign Department of the Deutsche Bank, which played a key role in loot-

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ing invaded European countries. He was on the board of directors of some of the most important industrial and financial organizations in Germany and in the Nazi-occupied countries; he held more than 40 directorships in major German corporations. The role played by Abs's bank in the German economy was described (page 79) in the report on the Deutsche Bank issued by the Office of Military Government:

The Deutsche Bank voted the largest blocks of shares of the giant companies of Germany, some of them the largest in the world. It voted 38 percent of the total stock voted in I. G. Farben, the largest chemical combine in the world; 19 percent in Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the largest iron and steel concern in Europe; 28 percent in AEG; well over 20 percent in Siemens Halske, the second largest electrical cartel in Germany, and sizeable blocks in the Rhenish Westphalian Electrical Works, one of the largest public utility trusts.

Abs played an important role behind the scenes during the meeting of the foreign ministers in Paris in November, 1949.

This conference was called by Bevin to discuss the German problem, particularly the German demands that dismantling of surplus plants be stopped. Adenauer won. Emboldened by his success, he made a special plea on behalf of Germany's biggest steel combine, 19 percent of which is controlled by Abs's bank. Recalling that the Vereinigte Stahlwerke was established with more than $100 million of American money—incidentally never repaid—Adenauer demanded that the US make a new loan of 225 million marks, while Belgium, France and Luxembourg lend 75 million marks to this combine. The latter sum was to come indirectly from the US, too. To carry out this plan, Abs came to the United States in November, 1949. Thanks to the vigilance of Senator Guy M. Gillette (D, Iowa), he failed in his efforts and left the United States on December 7, 1949.

Germany badly needs foreign-capital investments, recent attempts to raise capital for investment purposes having been unsuccessful. The only source is the funds made available through the Marshall Plan. Abs can decide where the "counterpart funds" should go, and it is a safe guess that the big corporations will be the beneficiaries of our bounty. The latest figures provided by ECA show the following appropriations earmarked for 1950-51: Britain, approximately $900 million; Germany, approximately $724 million, and France, approximately $670 million.

Abs knows that all Western Europe faces an economic depression and is caught in a political dilemma. The situation was summed up by France's former Prime Minister Paul Reynaud, on March 31, 1950: "Europe must unite for defense. . . . The Atlantic forces should include German troops. . . . Germany must be admitted to the Council of Europe. . . . The British must become part of the union because without them, Germany, with her economic strength, would dominate the union."

From the German point of view one of the most serious obstacles to the proposed economic union has been the International Ruhr Authority, promulgated by the three Allied powers on September 28, 1948, its avowed purpose being to control the German war potential. Abs and the German Ruhr magnates have always been opposed to it because, so long as it existed, the Germans were in no position to bargain effectively with their neighbors. They did everything possible to render it ineffective, and they have succeeded. On January 24, 1950, Thomas Dehler, Minister of Justice in the Bonn cabinet, gleefully pronounced it "hollowed out and outstripped." The Authority, heralded as one of the most important events since V-E Day, has been perhaps the greatest hoax perpetrated upon the democratic world which sincerely believed that the German war potential must and could be controlled.

Thanks to the machinations of Abs and his friends, the Authority never functioned and never even concerned itself with developments in the Ruhr. It is a matter of record that it was never given adequate funds or personnel. The reason for this failure is not hard to find. Its main purpose was to reassure France against new German aggression. The French now seem to feel there is no longer any need to fear Germany, since the latter has been invited to become a member of the Council of Europe. The British seem to agree with this thesis too. On March 21, the *Daily Mail* wrote:

"The Ruhr Authority, which was slated to become the Allied instrument of control of German industry, has become superfluous."

In this connection, Michael Hoffman, in his dispatch from Geneva to the New York *Times* (November 20, 1949), reported the following significant development: "The latest and most important move has been made by German and French steel interests that have been having discussions with the knowledge—and some high French sources say the approval and even the sponsorship—of André François-Poncet, French High Commissioner in Germany."

The groundwork for the establishment of the steel cartel had been prepared early last year by Abs's friend, Hermann Reusch, of the Gütehoffnungshütte. On February 23, 1949, Joseph Alsop reported from Berlin that Reusch was warmly received in the highest French circles because he came to make a deal. The deal was to offer the French heavy industry—the Comité des Forges—a 30-percent stock interest in the Ruhr. "The Ruhr industry would then be established with no nonsense about socialization, and the new Franco-German joint ownership in the Ruhr would be accepted as a

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substitute for the 'internationalization' the French talk so much about," Alsop wrote. Wilhelm Zangen, of the Mannesmann Tube Cartel, made a similar proposition to the French last summer. And in fact during the past year numerous meetings have been held by the representatives of the Western European steel industries for the purpose of concluding a cartel agreement.

One of the main obstacles, it appears, has been the British attitude. The British Iron and Steel Federation has had ample experience with the prewar international steel cartel; it was invited to join as a charter member but declined because of the traditional British policy of free trade. Eight years later the Federation became a member; but it was then too late to check Germany's domination of the European steel industry.

Can the British afford to make the same mistake again? The answer depends on whether Britain can continue to produce steel more cheaply than its competitors, and on whether the prospective members can agree on production quotas. Aspects of this problem were discussed in the *Statistical Bulletin* of the British Iron and Steel Federation, on the eve of the British elections last February.

According to the *Bulletin*, Europe will consume 58 million tons of steel in 1953. The members of the Organization for European Economic Coöperation are slated to produce 68 to 70 million tons, or a surplus of 10 to 12 million tons. Markets must be found for this surplus. The *Bulletin* points out, however, that the figures quoted were based on calculations made by ECA in Geneva before the devaluation of the pound. Since then, devaluation has given the British steel producers some comparative advantage over their competitors. Britain now produces at lower cost than any of the European countries, and Germany is a close second. How long will Britain maintain this advantage? After discussing the postwar increase in steel production as compared to 1937, the *Bulletin* makes a significant recommendation: "In order to avoid a sudden contraction of demand it is necessary to coördinate the efforts to increase consumption. . . . To accomplish this purpose it is essential that investments and steel production programs be coordinated."

Thus it is clear that the British steelmasters agree in principle that a cartel agreement is necessary; and there is no doubt about the French, Belgian and German attitudes. The only question is how to reconcile the various conflicting interests.

Can Germany be brought into this economic agreement while the other members are protected from German domination? Judging from Germany's past practices, the future is full of risk.

The history of the first international steel cartel of 1926 justifies forebodings. The cartel agreement covered the production for both domestic and export markets and provided a system of deposits and fines to compel adherence. To cover administrative costs there was a basic charge of $1 for every ton of crude steel produced. If a country exceeded its quota, it paid a penalty of $4 per ton. If a country failed to reach its quota, it received compensation of $2 per ton.

Since Germany was anxious to establish the cartel, it deliberately asked for a smaller quota than it was entitled to, and this bait was eagerly seized by France, Belgium and Luxembourg. One year later these countries discovered why Germany had asked for a small quota. During the first year of its existence, the Germans paid $10,381,000, or 95 percent of the total fines imposed upon the overproducing cartel members. They had seized the initiative, and they kept it until World War II.

Various meetings have been held in Paris, London and Brussels. The stumbling block has been Dinkelbach's demand to raise the level of steel production to 16 million tons.

Can the British agree to this? They are afraid to grant the Germans parity in steel production, and would like to prevent this as long as possible. This is why the Allied Commission told Adenauer on March 30 that the 11.1 million-ton ceiling would not be raised. The British did not think they could afford to pay the price at present. But considering the tremendous concessions the Germans have been able to extract during the past 12 months, there is little doubt that in the long run they will win out. Therefore, Schuman's proposal, which was greeted enthusiastically by the Ruhr industrialists, satisfies the German demands.

Even should the Germans fail to obtain an immediate revision of their level of industry, they can afford to wait; in the long run, their economic strength is in their favor, because the German industrial economy is by all odds the mightiest in Europe. Their steel capacity today—more than 20 million tons—is higher than that of Britain. This capacity was not materially reduced through reparations, which in any case practically came to a halt last November. The huge industrial potential Germany built up before and during the war is still substantially intact and will be improved with Marshall Plan money. The dye industry is larger than that of the US; the prewar nitrogen capacity is largely intact; the coal-tar industry is larger than it was in 1947. The synthetic-fiber industry is still there, not to mention the I. G. Farben combine. The machine-tool inventory is the second largest in the world.

The French are now evidently convinced that they can become strong enough to offset Germany's economic power in an integrated Europe. But consider what happened to the French after the formation of the first car-

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tel. In 1936 Germany's production of crude steel was only 2.5 percent greater than that of France. In 1938 production by one German steel combine alone—Dinkelbach's Vereinigte Stahlwerke—was greater than the combined production of all the French steel mills.

So long as we live in two worlds instead of one, the economic and political integration of Western Europe is essential. So, too, is Germany's admission to the Council of Europe. But an integration based on recartelization cannot solve the economic problems of Western Europe, nor can it provide the necessary safeguards against Germany's economic expansion.

The Schuman plan would fall short in both respects. It contains no answer to the ever growing surplus of steel production in Western Europe which in 1953, according to Economic Committee for Europe estimates, will amount to 12 million tons more than can be consumed. Paradoxically, the Schuman proposal would help the Russians since the only available market for this surplus would lie behind the Iron Curtain. Contrary to French claims, the probable result, under the plan, would be the elimination of the safeguards against German aggression such as the International Ruhr Authority and the level of industry ceiling.

The Germans have already made arrogant demands to be given a "free hand" to sell their goods to the Iron Curtain countries. (As a matter of fact, they have been selling large quantities of steel to the Eastern bloc for some time—contrary to the dictates of our "cold war" policy.) No doubt the next step will be to demand the right to rearm, which will be bolstered by the arguments that (1) rearmament is essential to the defense of Western Europe and (2) greater production will assist in solving the growing unemployment problem. Since it is extremely difficult to believe that Russia will remain indifferent to the rearmament of the Ruhr, the situation is extremely dangerous and may even make war inevitable.

The most important questions that arise are: Will the people of Europe benefit from this deal? What voice will labor have in the planning, distribution and pricing of products? How can this scheme succeed without a thorough overhaul of all Western European tariff barriers or without the abolition of currency controls? How can it work without a "payments union" plan? Will the decartelization program in Germany be the victim?

What is really needed to bring about a true integration of Western Europe is a true internationalization of the Rhine basin. There is a solution, and the means to implement it are available: decartelize Germany as provided for under Law 56 and Ordinance 78 of our Occupation Statutes; revitalize the International Ruhr Authority, established December 28, 1948; change the Schuman idea—which is actually another Franco-German cartel—into a real attempt at international control of the Rhine basin; give to the UN, and especially the ECE, which has had ample experience in international economics, the responsibility for guiding the project. Or else it will be, as the French themselves say, *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

HAROLD L. ICKES: Death by Association

IF THERE CAN BE "guilt by association," might there not be "death by association"? A recent AP dispatch from Oxford, England, told of the death, in a nursing home there, on May 8, of Miss Agnes Smedley, an American of pre-Revolutionary Pennsylvania Quaker stock. She had been forced to seek asylum with a friend in London because a gross slander of her had been issued by General Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo, thus making it impossible for her to earn her living in the United States. She had been stigmatized as a "Soviet spy who was still at large."

It was falsely charged in February of 1949 that Miss Smedley had been a Soviet spy upon the Japanese. This "McCarthyism" was based upon 20-year-old files of the Imperial Japanese Police. The fact is that Miss Smedley never lived in Japan and knew nothing whatsoever of the activities of the supposed spies. She never was a spy for anyone, although she was always willing to give all the information that she had about Chinese affairs to American Army officers and to American Red Cross officials. She had lived for 12 years in China, where she was a special wartime correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian*, as well as a field worker for the Chinese Red Cross Medical Corps.

Miss Smedley promptly denounced the charge that she had been a "Soviet spy" as an irresponsible lie. She challenged General MacArthur to waive his immunity so that she might sue him for libel. However physically brave the General may have shown himself to be on the field of battle, he was not brave enough, in this instance, to answer in court for his cowardly smear. He left it to Kenneth C. Royall, who at that time was Secretary of the Army, to withdraw the charge, with the statement that it had been a *"faux pas."*

Unfortunately, the Army's smearing of Miss Smedley as "a Soviet spy, still at large" had spread across the country in clamant headlines, accompanied by photographs. The apologetic withdrawal of the charge by Secretary Royall could not undo the damage that had been wrought. As the New York *Times* said, "The case was

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like plucking a fowl in a high wind—many of the feathers could never be gathered up again." As the result, Miss Smedley became ill. Until the MacArthur slander, she had supported herself by writing and lecturing. Now she could get no speaking engagements. She could sell no articles. She found that she was being avoided by acquaintances. It was difficult to obtain a place to live within her strictly limited means. Landlords told her that they could not rent her a room.

In her young womanhood, Miss Smedley had been arrested for her activity in support of a free India, but the charges against her were dropped. Her activities brought her in touch with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1927. Before his recent visit to this country, Miss Smedley addressed two letters to Nehru in Washington. Nehru had tried to meet her in many parts of the world on occasions in the past and the two had corresponded at intervals for many years. When Nehru spoke at the Overseas Press Club, a mutual friend of hers and the Indian Prime Minister's asked him why he had answered neither of Miss Smedley's letters.

Nehru was amazed by the question, because he had received no letter. He thought that Miss Smedley was still in China. He sent word to her by this mutual friend to call him up that evening to make an appointment. When she attempted to reach him, she found herself talking with a man whose voice sounded strangely American. He falsely claimed to be Nehru's secretary. He asked Miss Smedley her name, address and telephone number. After she had given him this information and had told him that she was calling at Nehru's suggestion, her interlocutor told her that it would be impossible for Nehru to see her. Miss Smedley asked for his name, and he hung up without giving it. Later, a member of Nehru's staff sent word to Miss Smedley that the Prime Minister would see her the following Thursday morning. Again, when she called up for the appointment, she was answered by the same American voice, which insisted that she could not see Nehru.

Was this an instance of an overzealous State Department underling protecting the Prime Minister of India from himself, intercepting messages, taking down the names of callers and keeping a distinguished visitor from abroad under impertinent espionage? Miss Smedley did not know then, but learned later that Nehru's secretary was a native Indian girl.

Barely able to subsist on a small sum advanced by the publisher of the book on China that she was writing, Miss Smedley fortunately was invited by the wife of a prominent British official to share her apartment in London during the absence of her husband on official duty.

Then the State Department really became busy in characteristic fashion. To go to London required a passport. For several months the Passport Division, over which Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley exercises her arbitrary and dictatorial sway, gave her the run-around. One flimsy excuse for delay after another was given. To Miss Smedley's attorneys, whom she felt it necessary to retain although she could ill afford it, the Division charged privately that Miss Smedley was a Communist. This also was an invention. Even so, known Communists have been given passports. There is nothing in the law denying the right of a Communist to a passport. This was only one more occasion for Mrs. Shipley to show that her iron-fisted governance of her office is one of arbitrary whim and prejudice. Her superiors will admit this privately, but they humor her as an unwise parent sometimes does a spoiled child. It also seems that, months after Secretary Royall had withdrawn the MacArthur smear as a "*faux pas*," the Passport Division continued to quote the libelous charge. Finally, a passport was issued, but only after great pressure had been brought to bear. It was unduly limited, both as to time and as to the countries which Miss Smedley might visit.

If anyone should ever write a book under the title "Poor Girls Who Became Famous," Agnes Smedley would have to be included. She was the daughter of an old-line, but poor, American family. Her father was an itinerant miner and her mother a boarding-house cook. She worked variously as a waitress, tobacco stripper, book agent, and stenographer, while squeezing in a year at a normal school in Arizona. In large measure she was self-educated, although over a number of years she had snatches of study at the University of California, New York University night school and the University of Berlin. Against this background, by indomitable effort and native ability, she developed into a well-known correspondent of world-renowned newspapers. She wrote notable magazine articles and books that were widely read. She became a much sought-for speaker on the lecture platform and the time was to come when she found herself teaching English to university students.

Now the object of General MacArthur's slanderous charge and of Mrs. Shipley's ill-nature and doubtful official manners is dead. I do not know the immediate cause of her death, but I do know that this outstanding American and champion of the underdog was a baffled and distraught woman when, nearing the age of sixty, she found herself deprived of the means of making a living in her own country. Her health did not improve during the period when she was arbitrarily denied the right to go to a more hospitable land where she could live free of the shadow of a mendacious charge that was, naturally, highly distasteful to a loyal American. May this distinguished, unjustly maligned woman, now dead in a foreign land, be permitted to rest in peace.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

VIRGINIA WOOLF: THE SKIRTING OF PASSION

by Louise Bogan

THE PUBLICATION of the last posthumous collection of Mrs. Woolf's critical and biographical essays brings to a close that phase of her career which began ten years after her novelist phase. Her first novel was published in 1915; her first book of "impressionist" prose sketches came out in 1921; and *The Common Reader*, her first book of essays, was published in 1925. The present volume contains material from all periods; and its variety reminds us that Mrs. Woolf spent part of her time as a working journalist; that during the years she was endeavoring to expand, through various experiments, the English novel form, she was also quite capable of writing to order book reviews, pamphlets and lectures.

THE CAPTAIN'S DEATH BED, by Virginia Woolf (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

One could just barely prophesy a critical future for the author of the earliest piece of critical writing here included: an "interior monologue" called "Reading," written in 1919. The stream-of-consciousness style was not Mrs. Woolf's invention; both Dorothy Richardson (since 1915) and Joyce (since 1916) had worked out the method fully; and by 1918 the earlier chapters of *Ulysses* were in print. Also in the background were E. M. Forster and Lytton Strachey. "Reading" is centered in an old library, in an old house, on an old estate; it is romantically conceived and romantically projected; quaint and highly colored side glimpses of history, nature and this-and-that keep breaking into the stream of meditation, and there is no literary analysis as such. But it is possible to detect in this piece very nearly all the elements of Mrs. Woolf's later critical manner. It is quite clear that she is not blindly following anyone as a literary guide; in fact, she often seems to be dramatizing her material according to the methods of painting rather than those of literature; and we remember how closely she had followed, through the career of her painter sister, Vanessa Bell, and the enthusiasm of her friend, Roger Fry, the art of the Post-Impressionists, from the time of their first London exhibition in 1910. Like these painters, she chooses her angle with care, she colors with brilliance and she establishes a pattern with shrewdness. And in a few years she has acquired tremendous competence; the review of Cobden-Sanderson's *Journals*, written in 1926 and here included, goes like the wind. For now she can control her movement and her speed as well as her lighting and her design. Everything is particularized; and the sheer pleasure given to the writer by the act of writing is apparent at every point.

"She liked writing with an intensity which few writers have attained," Forster says of Mrs. Woolf in his memorial essay; but she was at her best when she managed in some way to write at one remove from life. Even in her novels she was forced to get at life, for all her implicit insistence to the contrary, in some oblique or indirect fashion: through some perspective of time or some distortion of space. But when her material was the recorded facts of history and literature, she was able to function with a good deal of freedom; always in the past, it is true. She could not deal with her contemporaries; when she mentions them at all her remarks are either ordinary or catty: *Ulysses* is "obscene"; "Prufrock" is "obscure"; *Lady Chatterley's Lover* comes in for ridicule in *Orlando*, and both Lawrence and Forster (Forster from whom she learned so much) have "failed" in their early books. It was often her feminist-reformist side that blocked her view; and again her critical insight went down before her frequent indulgence in that "poetization" of fact which consists of "making things out more interesting than they really are—the imposition of the writer's personality for which there is no exact critical term," an indulgence against which Fry had warned her.

Once she had perfected her critical approach, however, she began to manufacture the most consistently acceptable version of "impressionist criticism" to be found in her time. It is of the highest interest to the student of this period to examine how she clung to the classical virtues of lucidity and balance; in spite of all her surface "originality," she never let go of the ancient classical rhetorical devices. And she never became the indolent "prose-charmer"; breaths of the vernacular float in from time to time, and the effect of these gusts are always finely judged. Writing thus by rule and by ear, Mrs. Woolf never allowed herself to become awkward, rough, or truly baffling or bizarre, as many of her more original contemporaries dared to be. She never makes a fool of herself in any manner of which she is conscious and can avoid. Before the unknowable, the ungraspable, her competence failed; but even here she was partial mistress of the situation: she stopped the investigation at the exact moment that it got out of hand. Time and again we come upon the little flourish of style as she avoids the abyss.

It is this skirting of evil, this inability to penetrate into the heights and depths that finally makes her critical work rather irritating. She claimed all the virtues and insights of the intuitive mind; but with true mystics, as with true poets, evil is never by-passed; a struggle is in order. One must talk back to God or Devil, so that the terror and horror of the facts can thereafter be absorbed into some acceptance of their mystery. With Mrs. Woolf the intellect continually intervenes. Her flights toward some "heightened state of being" are always coming up short against the sudden opacity of her spiritual nihilism: the underlying pessimism of the "enlightened" woman. Several of her female contemporaries who made no claim to any inordinate equip-

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ment of "brains" accomplished these flights quite easily; one has only to think of Isak Dinesen, of Colette, of the early Elizabeth Bowen—even of Katherine Mansfield and of Dorothy Richardson—to see that Mrs. Woolf is frequently intellectually pretentious and always emotionally immature.

On the other hand, how remarkable it is that this "lady" who, to quote Forster again, "had not much sympathy," had enough to write the sympathetic and penetrating "Memoirs of a Working Woman's Guild" (1930) —the essay which is the high point of the present book, if not of her critical work as a whole, in which we can watch Mrs. Woolf transcending her prejudices even as she states them. How remarkable it is that this woman novelist who was incapable of creating the shimmer and tension of emotional relationships between men and women, except rather synthetically and in fragments, could see straight into the heart of Turgenev's success with the delineation of such relationships. Her intelligence and taste set her firmly against intellectual sham, which she could instantly detect. And if she sometimes yielded to the demand which she herself had created in a body of readers, for her special "little sensation"—her small but brilliant effect obtained by focusing on a man, woman or career at a striking but not representative moment ("The Captain's Death Bed" here is a perfect example of this)—she was also able to appreciate, humbly and sincerely, the qualities of men and women who had made contact with that fact, process and mystery which she never completely yielded to or understood, but which she speaks of again and again in the simple words: "life itself."

Louise Bogan, poetry reviewer for the New Yorker since 1931, has published four books of poetry.

THE TIMELY CRIME

TREASON, by Nathaniel Weyl (Public Affairs Press; $4.50).

NATHANIEL WEYL has written a facile account of treason in the United States. Unfortunately, he has also indulged in some glib sleight-of-hand that damages what could be a vital and provocative study. After a 424-page build-up, Weyl has dragged in the trials of Hiss, Coplon and the eleven Communists. Whatever one thinks of the personalities and issues in these cases, an elementary sense of fairness would have kept all three out of a book entitled *Treason.*

Treason against the United States is the only crime defined by the Constitution, consisting "only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving aid and comfort to them." Hiss, Coplon and the eleven Communists were not indicted for treason for the simple reason that their cases lacked the basic requirements of such a charge. Nevertheless, it is understandable how and why the cases were included. This is a timely book because of the peculiar fascination which the cold war has brought to the subject of human loyalties and ideological purity. And if the legal definition of treason had not been strained to cover the current headline cases of Hiss, Coplon and the Communists, there would be no timeliness and obviously less salability. But because it is understandable it is no less disturbing. What is needed in these hysterical times is precision and sanity in discussing the battle for the mind and soul of man and not a willing recognition of what Madison termed "new-fangled and artificial treasons."

To be sure, Weyl admits that it is not strictly accurate to employ the term treason in the current prosecutions. But this hardly does away with the guilt-by-association motif of Benedict Arnold-Aaron Burr-Clement Vallandingham-Robert Best-Alger Hiss. The author includes the current cases in order to get at his final plea for a new definition of treason. He correctly says that treason has taken on new dimensions, while the personal stature of the traitors has been shrinking. His idea is that the scope of treason should be broadened from a national to an ideological base. Treason against democracy, or freedom, should supplant treason against the state. The most recent report of the House Un-American Activities Committee has urged that "the legal definition of treason, and the penalties attached thereto, be broadened to cover a period like the present cold war." Weyl is plainly opposed to the behavior of this committee, yet his recommendations exhibit the same impatience with constitutional restraints.

It is a strange and disturbing thing to discover an apparently intelligent man who argues that the way to strengthen the American form of democracy is to weaken constitutional safeguards which never have proved inadequate in handling treason. Yet the author seems willing to accept a definition of treason so broad that it may affect ideas as well as actions.

All of which is a pity: first, because the historical sections of this book are adequately presented (in fact, they make fascinating reading); second, and more important, because there is real need for a book that discusses the loyalty question perceptively, which penetrates such subjects as the psychology of renegacy and the anatomy of hysteria. Weyl goes to some pains to belittle the "intuitive work" of Rebecca West on treason. But Miss West's intuitive powers could well be used to discuss this facet of the American scene today.

MALCOLM HOBBS

Malcolm Hobbs is the former Washington correspondent for the Overseas News Agency. For the past eight years he has been reporting on the national scene and, prior to that, was a correspondent in Mexico. He is currently working on a novel.

THE INMATES

A FIELD OF BROKEN STONES, by Lowell Naeve, in collaboration with David Wieck. Preface by Paul Goodman (Libertarian Press, Glen Garden, N. J.; $3).

PRISON ETIQUETTE, by the Inmates. Edited, with an Introduction, by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer. Preface by Christopher Isherwood (Retort Press, Bearsville, N. Y.; $2.50).

MANY AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS seem to be suffering at present from an acute attack of self-righteousness. That is not good for their thinking or their writing. As a remedy they might start by reading such a book as *A Field of Broken Stones.*

Lowell Naeve, a conscientious objector in the last war who went to prison for his views, does not go in for much theorizing. But toward the very end of his book he has this to say: "The United States is not only creeping towards a fascist way, but already has crept a long way in that direction." Judging from the description of his experiences and his reactions to them, the author of this book must be a re-

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markable young man. He is an idealist who keeps up his courage although he is alone and isolated. He sees the truth (I can attest to that from knowledge of at least one locale where he was confined), but is unable to connect it properly. His naïveté, charming and open to conviction, prevents him from realizing that what he describes is not exceptional but typical.

Naeve was confined in several prisons and in one psychiatric hospital "for observation." His credo and the way he went about its realization are a spontaneous emotional individual anarchism: "What I wanted and still want is just to be left alone to live like a human being. I want to be treated democratically and have a right to my own opinions, live free from the threat of jail." But human beings become individuals only in and through a social group and have no rights without obligations.

Against this psychological background the actual experiences stand out forcibly—some of them unforgettably. Here is the young man who wants to have nothing to do with killing, yet finds himself in one place of detention after another in close contact with members of Murder, Inc. In his first courtroom he has feelings like Kafka's hero, proving not that he imitates Kafka, but that Kafka described reality. Repeatedly during his journey he comes up against what is politely called "prejudice" against Negroes. They are treated differently, are segregated, eat at different tables—are even electrocuted differently (more brutally). He describes what happened to him when, like Robert Irwin, he acted on his belief that in a court one can give an explanation. He learns to be afraid of the "prison-hospital where prisoners were often intimidated and roughed up." Sometimes he makes revealing remarks which might be thought ironical, but he means them just as he says them: "Much to my surprise, I found the prisoners just as honest as the average business man."

There is over the whole book an atmosphere of violence or the threat of violence, unsensationalized and almost un-understood until the very end when a stranger, a girl, writes him a letter using the correct term, "terrorism." One memorable scene describes how he was forcibly fed in a psychiatric hospital. I have often seen and vainly protested against this same proceeding being carried out even more violently than in the instance he describes. But the meaning of this is not what Norman Mailer says on the book jacket: "The forced feeding carried symbolically all the emotional weight of the state laying hands upon the individual." No, it isn't the state. It is you and I who permit these conditions to continue right under our unsmelling noses.

Prison Etiquette is an anthology written by fifteen conscientious objectors about their prison experiences. Its interest springs primarily from some of the details, which seem to be authentic —from the routinely rough guard to "the doctor, a would-be psychiatrist, who is always looking for broken homes in the earlier life of the prisoners." The authors certainly don't testify to the truth of the statement in the Introduction that "the existing prison system in the United States is, in many ways, the most thoroughly reformed in the world." But they do illustrate very well what one author says: "Prison is an unhappy parable of life in 'outside' society." Another writer describes this as follows: "Negroes were segregated, teen-age convicts were thrown into solitary, foul food was served frequently, the lunacy ward was used to coerce the sane. . . ."

One inmate had a chance to complain to one of the highest federal prison authorities about illegal doings in the institution. The official answered: "Most anything is legal in institutions like this." FREDRIC WERTHAM

BRIEF COMMENT

The Lost Traveller, by Antonia White (Viking; $3).

Fifteen years ago Antonia White published *Frost in May*, which won a good deal of praise both in England and America. Her second novel is concerned with the theme of her first: the pains and blights of a young girl growing up, first at convent-school (her parents are converts to Catholicism) and later in the England of the years between 1915 and 1917. But *The Lost Traveller*, on a theme almost fatal—that of the sensitive adolescent—is not the novel of sensibility you would expect, with its usually too protective attitude toward the favorite. Rather, it is a chronicle of unfolding and developing relationships between the girl and her parents, and in various ways it is equally divided among girl, mother (oversensitive and dissatisfied) and father (a self-made intellectual not quite born to the middle class). And as a chronicle during which all the characters happily change and develop, the girl, above all, gently deflected from the fate of a dyed-in-the-wool bluestocking, you are reminded of methods and styles just possibly close relatives to Miss White's—Arnold Bennett's and Dorothy Richardson's.

There are brilliant scenes—the family party after the funeral, the night the father takes his daughter to the opera—but it is not by brilliance that Miss White achieves her effects: rather it is by the very solidity of her structure through which life is allowed to flow. For her grasp, down to every grain of detail, of what she is writing about is firm and clear. Incident seems to flow effortlessly out of incident, there is no necessity for overemphasis, scenes never seem arranged or forced. The voice that speaks is often astringent in tone, usually grave, but never need it exaggerate by shout or declamation. Such ease and poise, though not exciting, are admirable, and produce a delicate truthfulness.

The Other Father, by Laura Z. Hobson (Simon and Schuster; $3).

"What do we do to our children?" is the pamphleteering theme of this novel—one perhaps designed to make a good many comfortable families sit up and take notice, concerned as it is with a father love that does not know why it loves too much, and a daughter love that unknowingly seeks father in lover. But is this documentary novel supposed to instruct or to entertain? Is there a moral intent? One can never quite tell. Meanwhile its prosaic facility succeeds in giving a gloss to some of its general triteness, and the classical dilemma does not allow interest to flag. As a popularization of some of the psychologizing that has gone on for the last twenty years it is eminently in step, though what is told of the cut-and-dried depths of the father's soul is told with the primness of a textbook.

The Wine of Etna, by Alexander Baron (Ives Washburn; $2.75).

Alexander Baron, an English writer, published an excellent war novel last year, *From the City, From the Plough.* Technically, *The Wine of Etna* is a war novel too, though it deals with the more subtle explosion of peace when a company of English soldiers appears in a small Sicilian town to rest for a few weeks before returning to the front lines. Baron is interested in the human effects of this peace: how much a little milk for the starved children, how much sunlight and domestication (of the warriors by the eager, lone-

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ly women), restore a joyful sense of half-forgotten privileges—the privileges of not having to fear, hate, to be hungry, celibate, and lonely. But a good deal more occurs than just this tantalizing vision of a little Arcadia, for the author has put together a compact microcosm reflecting many complex forces and it is by the contrasts between the disintegration that war has already produced and the integration, for a while, which comes with peace, that he produces his effect. Baron writes with a great deal of feeling that never clouds his eye to the sharp exactness with which characters and events are portrayed.

JEAN GARRIGUE

DANCE: The Vipers of Paris

Paris

A NEW EPISODE in the queasy artistic relations between France and America was written on May 8, when "Les Ballets Américains de Ruth Page, Bentley Stone et José Limón" opened a three-week engagement at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées. Emboldened by the success of Katherine Dunham, whose company last winter played for months to sold-out houses, Miss Page had organized in New York a troupe capable of demonstrating both American ballet and modern dance to Paris.

History did not repeat itself. The invited first-night audience broke out in repeated demonstrations of hostility that reminded Janet Flanner (Genêt of the *New Yorker*) of the noisy and violent Diaghilev premières in the same theatre two decades ago. When Miss Page made her first appearance of the evening, in "Delirious Delusion," a surrealist piece employing Daliesque properties, she was greeted by resonant booing.

The response to "Frankie and Johnny" a little later proved that the earlier round had been no more than a preparatory barrage. Broad in humor and satirically melodramatic, "Frankie and Johnny" recounts the story of the popular song in a manner calculated—as American audiences have found throughout the last ten years—to leave no audience cold. After the final mockery of the funeral cortege, pandemonium broke out. Numerous partisans applauded fiercely and cried "Bravo" at the top of their lungs, but their total vocal power was not enough to combat the penetrating chorus of boos which rose in a crescendo from the balcony. As Miss Page, Mr. Stone and the company took their successive curtain calls, the ugly sound grew louder and louder, and there was nothing to do, in all common sense, except to close the curtains until the tumult subsided.

A brief breathing spell was provided by "La Malinche," in which Limón, Pauline Koner and Lucas Hoving were received rather blankly but without antagonism. The program then closed with Miss Page's Poe ballet "The Bells." At this point Darius Milhaud took over the baton from the regular conductor, a young American, Emerson Kailey. But not even the participation of France's number-one composer could spare "The Bells" an even more disastrous fate than that of "Frankie and Johnny." Booed for the first time in his career by his own Parisian audience, Milhaud was conspicuously absent from the stage when Miss Page, Stone and Limón took their last bewildered curtain calls.

Even the managers, Gaston Dussurget and Henri Lambert, both shrewd and experienced Parisian operators, were astounded and perplexed by the goings-on. It was true, they said, that the first-night Paris audience is known as *Les Vipères*, but in this case the punishment seemed excessive. "The Bells" is a weak ballet, and was not successful when it was given in New York. But "Frankie and Johnny," however unfamiliar its idiom might be to the Parisians, is a taut, well-constructed, well-danced piece little calculated to produce a public catastrophe in any theatre, however distant from the American scene.

From below, the attacks of the aspersive chorus sounded almost too perfectly synchronized to be spontaneous. Probably we shall never know whether some members of the audience had it in for the Americans before they came to the theatre. It is a matter of record,

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however, that one of the leading members of the Paris Opéra Ballet remarked that henceforth it would be impossible for American dancers to appear successfully in Paris, a turn of events that pleased him in view of the hostile reception his group had suffered in New York two years ago. Since both the Martha Graham company and Ballet Theatre are booked for Paris engagements this summer, his observations are worth remembering. Another Parisian said to me, "The French are becoming increasingly antagonized by American international politics. The American Ballet gave an opportunity to express our hostility in a way that would have no direct repercussions."

The specialized and hysterical nature of the opening-night demonstration became clear on the second night. In the absence of the *Vipères*, the audience was well-mannered, if not actively enthusiastic. "The Bells" was dropped from the program, quite properly, as an unmistakable artistic failure, and José Limón's striking Othello ballet, "The Moor's Pavane," was substituted with real success. There were a few dutiful boos after "Frankie and Johnny," but the applause was sufficient to kill them. If this had been the opening, it would have been fair to say that Les Ballets Américains was received in a friendly, if mild, manner. At any rate, the debacle of the première aroused enough interest to guarantee attendance throughout the engagement.

To provide myself with a proper frame of reference, I had gone a few evenings earlier to a gala performance of the ballet at the Opéra, to see a bill consisting of "Swan Lake" and two new ballets by Serge Lifar, "L'Inconnue" and "Le Chevalier Errant." I found the company over-costumed and too assured for its own good, with Lifar strutting and posturing like an aging prima donna in his own ballets, and failing to provide the company with much in the way of interesting choreography. I had hoped that the Paris Opéra Ballet would look more reasonable and less old-hat at home than it had at the City Center. But at the risk of prolonging the international war of the balconies, I must insist that there are ten times as many ideas in "Frankie and Johnny" or "The Moor's Pavane" as in any of the dozen or so Lifar ballets I have seen. CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Girl with a Gun

THE NOTICES I have seen of the screen (Technicolor) "Annie Get Your Gun" have made such a point of the fact that Betty Hutton is not Ethel Merman that I began to fear M-G-M had tried to perpetrate a fraud. But the picture makes no attempt to disguise its star and the point of interest is more what Miss Hutton is than what she is not.

Miss Hutton is a robustly healthy girl who appears to have no confidence whatever in her own charms or in the quality of her material. Animation is one thing; climbing the scenery is another. And the duties of a song plugger do not include chewing the lyrics into spitballs and firing them at a thoroughly alarmed audience. The frenzy in this case is unnecessary: Miss Hutton need turn no cartwheels to attract attention and the Irving Berlin songs, as everyone knows by now, are fine merchandise. Students of the Hutton manner say that she has slowed down for this show; she is still jumping the tracks.

Aside from Miss Hutton, what happened to "Annie" in its transfer from stage to screen is what almost always happens to musicals in this process—it has lost its pace. Knowing that they cannot compete with the flesh-and-blood immediacy of a Broadway show, the movie men try to compensate with size, spectacle and scenery. But while the camera is dallying with battalion maneuvers and photogenic backgrounds, the show sags. You get a chance to cross your legs and think about the story, and no musical-comedy book is designed to pass that inspection. Louis Calhern, J. Carrol Naish, Edward Arnold and Keenan Wynn, all canny craftsmen, sweat to keep the action moving from song to song (Howard Keel, the juvenile, has a

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fine voice but acts as though he had paid to have his picture taken). Broadway shows are not improved by being inflated like blimps; when Hollywood wants to sing and dance, it should hire its own pipers.

United Artists, the producer of "Champagne for Caesar," is on to a good idea; it is also hoist by its own petard. The picture aims to spoof the hysterical unreality of television commercialism by imagining that a poor but imperturbable scholar with an encyclopedic mind (Ronald Colman) might parlay a double-or-nothing quiz contest up to the point where he owned the sponsor. The sponsor in this case, manufacturer of a "soap that sanctifies," is played by Vincent Price as a mad genius of finance who alternately is seized by raging tantrums and wafted into a fourth-dimensional Nirvana. His offices are a detergent temple where all surfaces are padded satin, every vista includes a fountain of iridescent bubbles, and women's beckoning arms project from the walls in a manner to make Cocteau cry robbery. All this is mildly funny and heavily satirical, but the real fantasy is Professor Beauregard, the learned one. The script says that when he works, which is occasionally, he makes $40 a week, and the action shows his sister giving piano lessons to keep a roof over their heads; but the house they inhabit, the clothes they wear, the luxury with which they surround themselves are at the level of at least $20,000 a year. It is dangerous to write fantasy if your own world has become fantastic.

Also—the climax of the picture (the point at which the professor must answer the $40 million question or renounce the girl he loves) is flubbed because the producers apparently feared that the sight of so large a sum of money going down the drain would cause an audience to riot and tear up the seats. Accordingly, they tack onto the film the weakest postscript in memory. Beauregard, that selfless man of principle, has made a covert deal whereby, for losing the jackpot, he is to receive an oversize roadster and a vice-presidency. He is not, however, to be thought dishonest because, as it turns out, he didn't know the answer to the last question anyway. It is dangerous to write morality plays if you think that money is the only happy ending.

"Champagne for Caesar" is funny in spots—provided for the most part by Celeste Holm as Flame O'Neil, a woman in whom classic beauty and elegance of mind are marred only by a toadlike heart. But in the end it sells you down the river.

The Hollywood career of James Mason is perplexing; he is the only well-known actor on the screen today who seems always to be slumming. Mason has developed all the mannerisms of a "dedicated" artist, yet he appears exclusively in trash—trash of his own selection, since he is a most cagey writer of contracts. "One Way Street" (with Marta Toren and Dan Duryea) is the latest example of this peculiar preoccupation. It concerns a gangland doctor who, having safely defied an array of hostile firearms sufficient to repel a commando landing, steps in front of a car that wasn't even aimed at him. This is what the Johnston office calls retribution and the rest of us call hooey. The picture takes Mason to Mexico, where he looks very fetching in peasant costume; Duryea, a gang leader of desperate ferocity, suffers from the psychosomatic headache now fashionable in West Coast crime circles.

You have to be a willing sucker to fall for the elegant patina with which the British overlay their potboilers, but if you are in an indulgent mood it is a pleasant way to be cozened. There is no vestige of novelty in "Adam and Evalyn," but the dry and smooth execution of its antique plot produces an illusion of witty entertainment. The story is a Damon Runyon sort of thing in which a wicked gambler becomes the embarrassed guardian of a pure and lovely orphan, a girl who transforms from pigtails to décolletage before the astonished and delighted eyes of audience and gambler alike. Stewart Granger and Jean Simmons play the lovers; Edwin Styles and Helen Cherry support them with ineffable suavity; the background is filled with bit players selected with an accurate and whimsical eye. All in all, a most engaging cheat.

ROBERT HATCH

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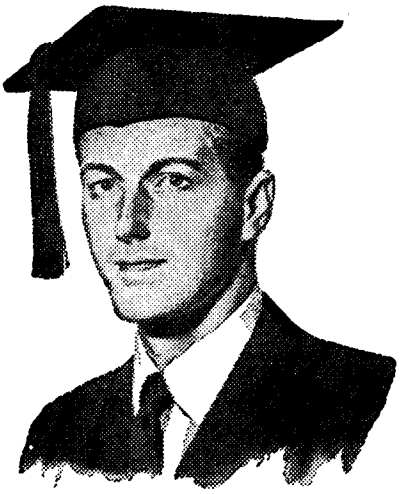

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